

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE UNN

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

USMISSION NATO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 7006

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: HEGEMONY

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SUMMARY: SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE IN

1972, PEKING HAS PLACED GROWING EMPHASIS ON THE INCLUSION OF AN ANTI-HEGEMONY COMMITMENT IN DOCUMENTS AND STATEMENTS JOINTLY ISSUED IN CONNECTION WITH VISITS OF NON-COMMUNIST FOREIGN LEADERS, PARTICULARLY THOSE FROM NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THESE BILATERAL STATEMENTS INCREASINGLY LOOK TO HAVE A COLLECTIVE IMPORTANCE, PERHAPS AS STILL-CRUDE LINKS IN A CHAIN CHINA IS FORGING AGAINST MOSCOW'S PROPOSAL FOR AN ASIAN COLLECTION ARRANGEMENT. THE FUSS PEKING IS MAKING OVER JAPAN'S RELUCTANCE TO PUT SUCH A CLAUSE IN TREATY FORM SHOWS THE IMPORTANCE THE CHINESE ATTACH TO IT AS PART OF A STRATEGY, IN THE WAKE OF THE INDOCHINA WAR, TO BLOCK THE EXPANSION OF SOVIET, AND CONCEIVABLY VIETNAMESE, INFLUENCE IN THE REGION. END SUMMARY

1. SINCE ITS INCLUSION FIRST IN THE 1972 SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WITH THE US, CHINA HAS TAKEN EVERY POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPOUND ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ANTI-HEGEMONY. PEKING HAS INCREASINGLY PERSUADED OTHERS, PARTICULARLY AMONG HER NON-COMMUNIST NEIGHBORS, TO SIGN UP BEHIND THE PRINCIPLE IN BILATERAL JOINT STATEMENTS AND COMMUNIQUE. TO DATE, FRANCE, MEXICO, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, JAPAN, MALAYSIA, THE PHILIPPINES, AND PAKISTAN HAVE OBLIGED.

2. IN THE WAKE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOCHINA, CHINESE FEARS OF A RAPID US MILITARY WITHDRAWAL FROM ASIA, COUPLED WITH MORE AMBITIOUS SOVIET EFFORTS TO REPLACE THE US IN THE REGION, HAVE MADE THESE BILATERAL COMMITMENTS TO HEGEMONY ALL THE MORE SERIOUS AND URGENT FOR PEKING. THE CHINESE HAVE BEEN MAKING IT INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IS AIMED AT THWARTING MOSCOW'S AMBITIONS IN ASIA. FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA DID SO IN HIS JUNE 9 BANQUET TOAST HONORING THE AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WHEN HE HIGHLIGHTED THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN THE 1973 COMMUNIQUE ON WHITLAM'S VISIT. CHIAO CALLED ATTENTION TO "ONE SUPERPOWER'S ATTEMPTS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OTHER'S WEAKENING AND STRATEGIC PASSIVITY". HE ACCUSED THE SOVIETS OF SIMULTANEOUSLY TOUTING THEIR ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROPOSAL WHILE STAGING A SHOW OF NAVAL FORCE IN THE PACIFIC/INDIAN OCEAN AREAS.

4. FIRST VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING TOOK UP THE THEME THE CONFIDENTIAL

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VERY NEXT NIGHT IN HIS TOAST TO THE PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT. TENG USED THE NOW MUCH-QUOTED CHINESE PROVERB WHICH WARNS AGAINST LETTING A TIGER IN THE BACK DOOR WHILE PUSHING A WOLF OUT THE FRONT GATE. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDITION OF THE PRC OWNED TA KUNG PAO FLATLY EXPLAINED THAT TENG WAS "CAUTIONING ALL ASIAN COUNTRIES THAT, WHILE THEY WERE SUCCESSFUL IN PUSHING US IMPERIALISM OUT OF THEIR COUNTRIES, THEY SHOULD BE ON GUARD TO THE OTHER SUPERPOWER WHO MAY BE SNEAK-

ING ON THEM FROM BEHIND". THE NEWSPAPER ADDED THAT "IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING" THE TIGER IS THE "FIERCER PREDATOR".

5. SNGLING OUT THE ANTI-HEGEMONY PORTION OF THE JUNE 9 SINO-PHILIPPINE JOINT COMMUNIQUE , TA KUNG PAO WENT ON TO CALL ATTENTION TO ITS AS A "SPECIAL FEATURE", ALTHOUGH IN FACT THAT WORKDING IS IDENTICAL TO THAT IN THE SINO-MALAY-SIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE SIGNED A YEAR AGO. THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUE IN THE SINO-PHILIPPINE COMMUNIQUE WAS DESCRIBED AS A RENTLESS EXPOSURE OF AND A BLOW STRUCK AT THOSE WHO ATTEMPT TO PLAY THE ROLE OF A "NEW WORLD GENDARME". THE INCLUSION OF THE CLAUSE WAS DECLARED TO BE CORRECT, AND TIMELY, AND TO SHOW THAT OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY IS BEING UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED BY GROWING NUMBERS OF PEOPLE IN ASIA AND ELSE-WHERE. THE COMMENT CONCLUDED WITH THE CONFIDENT ASSERTION THAT THOSE UNWILLING NOW TO INCLUDE THE CLAUSE IN FORMAL DOCUMENTS WILL SOONER OR LATER UNDERSTAND THE NECESSITY FOR IT.

6. TA KUNG PAO'S MESSAGE WAS ADDRESSED PARTICULARLY TO JAPAN WHICH HAS STAUNCHLY RESISTED PUTTING THE CLAUSE IN THE SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY, DESPITE ITS EARLY INCLUSION IN THE 1972 JOINT STATEMENT NORMALIZING SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS. THIS JAPANESE ANGLE SHOULD NOT OBSCURE, HOWEVER, THE OTHER IMPLICATION HERE, WHICH IS THAT PEKING LOOKS UPON THESE BILATERAL EXPRESSIONS OF OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY AS BEING ULTIMATELY COLLECTIVE IN THEIR SCOPE AND EFFECT. IN THEIR PRESENT BILATERAL FORM, CHIN MAY SEE THE COMMITMENTS AS CRUDE LINKS IN AN ULTIMATE CHAIN BEING FORCED AGAINST THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR AN ASIAN COLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE NOTE THAT OF THE FOUNDING PARTIES TO NOW NEAR-MORIBUND SEATO-- THE US, UK, FRANCE, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, THE PHILIPPINES, THAILAND, AND PAKISTAN--

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ONLY THE UK AND THAILAND HAVE YET TO JOIN PEKING IN AN ANTI-HEGEMONY STATEMENT. THAILAND CAN PROBABLY BE EXPECTED TO SIGN UP IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

7. THERE IS YET ANOTHER POTENTIAL ANGLE TO THE CHINESE PURSUIT OF A REGIONAL COMMITMENT AGAINST HEGEMONY THAT NEEDS TO BE KEPT IN MIND-- THE QUESTION OF HANOI'S INTENTIONS. TO DATE WE HAVE SEEN NOTHING TO INDICATE THAT THE CHINESE HAVE ANY THOUGHT FOR THE RELEVANCE OF THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE TO AMBITIONS IN HANOI FOR SWAY OVER INDOCHINA. NEITHER, HOWEVER, DOES THE CHINESE FORMULA, FOR OPPOSITION TO "ANY OTHER COUNTRY OR GROUPS OF COUNTRIES" SEEKING HEGEMONY, EXCLUDE VIETNAM. IT COULD BE A CASE OF THE SHOE FITTING.

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